

JOHNSON & VIETNAM

Gambler's Dilemma

Hysterical, war-mongering Goldwater or rational, moderate Johnson - which would be President of the U.S.? Two years ago this looked like a vital question.

Then, most of us would have regarded as over-cynical this comment from a Saigon newspaper: "Whether Johnson wins or Goldwater makes no difference to what happens in Vietnam. The difference between Johnson and Goldwater is that Goldwater wants to take on the Soviet Union and China together, while Johnson wants to make peace with the Soviet Union in order to concentrate the attack on China."

Well, now we know better. And judging from the November Congressional election results, more and more people are beginning to know better. Johnson's personal popularity has slumped. In both the Senate and the House of Representatives, the Democratic Party sustained significant losses.

A major reason for this debacle is the effect of the Vietnam war on the American economy. In committing the U.S. as deeply as he has in Vietnam, the President, it is clear, has taken insufficient account of the strain on its manpower and resources. His is the classic dilemma of the greenhorn poker-player, who finds he has already staked such ruinous sums that he dare not withdraw from the game - and so has no choice but to go on raising the stakes.

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The more dollars, the more lives are squandered on the battlefields of Vietnam, the more unthinkable it becomes for Johnson to retreat from his intransigence and admit that they were spent in vain.

How Many Chips on the Table?

There are now 287,000 American servicemen in Vietnam. To supply and service them is, even for the U.S., a major undertaking. The Defence appropriation for the current year reached the record figure of over 58 billion dollars. There are signs that Congress is already growing restive at such massive military expenditure; but the U.S. will have to do more than that to achieve a military victory. It is thought in Washington that the Administration intends to have 400,000 men in Vietnam by next January. On 10th August Senator John Stennis, chairman of the Senate Preparedness sub-committee, stating that the number of troops "must be stepped up to avoid a prolonged war of at least several years", indicated that he had in mind a figure of 500,000 to 600,000.

In the air, too, the war is proving more costly than had been expected. According to the official American figure, 346 jet aircraft have been shot down over North Vietnam in the past 18 months, mainly by ground fire. (North Vietnamese sources put the figure at over a thousand.) Seven fighter bombers were recently lost in a single day - the cost of these alone is estimated at something over 4 million. The U.S. cannot afford to go on losing such expensive aircraft.

Economic aid to the South Vietnam government cost 675 million dollars in the fiscal year from July 1965 to July 1966 - 25% of the total amount allocated by the U.S. for foreign aid in that year.

The construction of new harbours in South Vietnam and Thailand, the high spending of American troops in Vietnam, the so-called

"pacification" programme - these can cost the U.S. a thousand million dollars and more in a year. (The pacification programme, even if 100% successful, would take 20 years, at its present rate of progress, to "pacify" all the 15,000 hamlets of South Vietnam. But in any case, no one really expects it to succeed - too many previous such schemes have failed; it is primarily a piece of window-dressing, designed to distract attention from the more openly brutal approach of Marshal Ky, who is more interested in crushing the Buddhists and inciting an invasion of the North than in dealing with the problems of the Vietnamese peasant.)

"But I've Got a System . . ."

In America, as in Britain, inflation has now become a talking point. Increases in prices and wages are outstripping the official "guideline" of 3.2%; interest rates have risen to around 4.5% - the highest for twenty years; America is being edged into a credit squeeze.

No one doubts that the escalation of the (Continued on page 8)



Gerry Ryan of the Uniformed Firemen's Assn. came over. He stood with a drink in his hand. "You deserved it," he told Rockefeller.

"It's not all in yet," Rockefeller said. "It will be, and you started right at the bottom and came up and got it," Ryan said.

If the Chase Manhattan Bank is starting at the bottom, nobody should allow himself to be born into means.

- Jimmy Breslin, the N. Y. World Journal Tribune, the day after.

To analyse electoral processes and the role of political institutions in an advanced industrial society is an unenviable task: moreover, when radical alternatives within an electoral context are absent - as in the case of the United States although not of Western Europe - analysis tends to be sterile and to focus on given facts and assumptions rather than on the potentialities of a situation. All too often actuality is substituted for potentiality and a critique of contemporary political realities is limited to the framework of a politics of protest. At the same time, a tendency arises (especially within SDS) that looks outside the realm of electoral activity in attempting to develop movements that want no part in politics. A society defined by political, albeit manipulative, roles and institutions, a society which consists of

the political economy of capital, whether in the private or public sphere, forces these movements to relate to or be crushed by the political world surrounding them. Thus electoral politics becomes a Pandora's box: if we refuse to open the box - to take part in the political realities of contemporary America - we remain irrelevant; if we open the box we seem to be engulfed by the fixed limitations of a manipulative consensus.

Three years ago Tom Hayden and Gene Feingold wrote an article for SDS depicting the probable situation for the elections of '64. This was written before the assassination of Kennedy and with the assumption that the Presidential race would be between Kennedy-style liberalism and Goldwater conservatism. The issues as presented relate to two basic spheres in American political life: the Cold War and the role of the public sector of the economy. Hayden and Feingold argued that on one level we should support the liberals: if the programs of the public sphere were accepted, a real dialogue and confrontation of real alternatives could occur. If we advocate the democratization of an increased public sector through decentralized community control, then our alternatives are more clear and attainable once the sophisticated liberalism of Kennedy has been accepted. What is presented is a centralist-decentralist dialectic: the conditions (Continued on page 2)

national secretary's report

BEYOND THE BELOVED COMMUNITY

A Response to Pat and Ken

Movements, like individual men, need to pause from time to time in order to examine their past history and discover their present situation so that they can chart their future course. This need becomes especially acute when the individuals involved in those movements begin to suffer from the schizophrenic malaise which results from an inability to reconcile the deepest human impulses which brought them into the movement and the day-to-day activity in which they are involved. It is this divorce between the revolutionary needs which brought people into the movement and non-revolutionized mode of life which they find while working in the movement which creates the frustration and sickness that finally threatens to drive them. Driven to despair by the character of their own existence, a despair of the possibility of the revolutionary ends which they

so strongly desired. Having desired to live in a free world and unable to attain freedom in their own lives and in their relationships with others, they begin to doubt the possibility of ever achieving freedom.

It would be easy to dismiss such sentiments in a cynical fashion by treating them as naive and superficial. I cannot concur in the facile judgment of the cynics, nor will I despair of revolutionary possibilities. Revolutionary movements are not born out of cynicism, but out of the deepest kind of faith in the potentialities of a liberated humanity. Cynicism about human nature and human possibility is finally the unifying stance of both liberalism and conservatism; both regard revolutionary demands as naive; both reject the notion of freedom. Let us leave cynicism to the liberals and the conservatives. The desire for freedom, the faith in its (Continued on page 3)

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On Eggleston's Report From Buffalo

by John Bancroft
Swarthmore, Penn.

My is the other reading Nick Eggleston's is to an referendum at Buffalo would have and him a Trotskyite. But rather than resort to name-calling, I will simply outline my objections to Nick's article. He said that he felt SDS members should not take part in an official referendum on the draft exam at Buffalo because there was not enough time for the election because the university draft board relationship should not be decided by vote, and because the administration should not be allowed to sidestep the more general questions about campus democracy.

I know no more about the Buffalo situation than Nick tells us, but I object to what he says.

If there is one thing we have learned from our organizing experience it is that we must act in areas where there has been generated a potential for change. (KRAP was seen as a viable strategy because The Other American unemployment, and the War On Poverty had made people aware of the problem.) To say that we will not participate in an election because there is not enough time is to isolate ourselves unnecessarily from a possible opportunity for change. Why not campaign in the election, and at the same time add one more argument against the administration by pointing out that they are trying to railroad through a measure? Recently, Boston SDSers went so far as to lay down in front of Mc Namara's car in order to force him into debate on the war. Would it not have been silly of them to refrain from such action on the grounds that they were not being given a fair chance to debate McNamara?

Nick seems excessively purist also when he says participation in the referendum would have been sidestepping the whole previously raised issue of general student democracy. But if we wait for an opportunity to decide on all questions of campus democracy at once, we will wait forever. By participating in the referendum, one is in the position to say first, "this vote is unfair because we haven't been given enough time," and more importantly, "okay, now that you've let us vote on the draft exam, you must let us vote on the curriculum."

I object most to Nick's suggestion that the issue is so fundamental that it should not be decided by a vote, and further that this is so because there is no U. of Buffalo equivalent to judicial review.

This is an ahistorical and antidemocratic point of view. Just because judicial review, largely for political reasons, has been helping the left more than hurting it for the last 10 years does not make it a good thing. Does Nick forget that for decades judicial review was used to strike down progressive measures that had been arrived at democratically? Nick sounds like John Marshall when he says that some issues are too fundamental to be decided by democracy. If we really believe in letting the people decide, then we should renounce such things as judicial review which are part of America's checks (on the people) and balances (against democracy) system, and not extol judicial review simply because the Supreme Court has been liberal for the last few years.

But this matter shouldn't require such references to history and jurisprudence, for basically my point is that the question of university autonomy from the state, and other such fundamental questions, are exactly the ones that must be decided by democracy, and we can't cup out by making purist objections in the circumstances and age of the vote. In the Buffalo situation, if it was as Nick suggests, SDS should have taken out in the referendum debate, while at the same time objecting to the railroaded involvement. If they lost, they should have had the fact demanded a new vote, and then they could have organized to win the next election in the future. Thus the Buffalo situation is, instead of isolating itself from the campus, would be part in a vital student democracy. I would like to see the referendum held by a vote on the referendum, and if it was lost, a new vote on the referendum would be demanded.

his democratic decentralization are most ripe once a more centralized and integrated economic structure has been realized. (After all, Western Europe has a more rational, centralized, and even more integrated capitalist system than the U.S.)

However, the argument falls short in two ways. First, our foreign policy has become increasingly tied to the economic, political, and military needs of contemporary imperialism (even given the possibility of Bobby Kennedy as President). Not only has the U.S. become the predominant imperialist power, but it also has expanded its role in containing various national movements for political and economic control over their countries. Although the possibility of confrontation with the Soviet Union has been reduced, the focus of confrontation has shifted from the two industrial powers to the underdeveloped world. Cold War rhetoric and the ideology of anti-communism have not diminished but have been reformulated to meet the needs of the contemporary situation. China has displaced the Soviet Union as the enemy of the American people.

Secondly, and perhaps more important, the inability to present and communicate radical alternatives overshadows the possibility of a dialogue. In Western Europe, the working class, underclass, students, and in intelligent all have the ability to perceive alternatives, no matter how distorted, through communications media, a left-wing press, personal contact, the academic world, and within the electoral process. It is our absence of real alternatives that drives us to feelings of hopelessness and frustration.

If SDS wants to formulate an electoral perspective, it must first try to present critically the electoral situation as it is presented, and then try to develop an alternative. It is in this light that I see the need for the 1966 elections and how they affect our budding movement.

NEW DIRECTIONS THE MOVEMENT

It is ridiculous to say that the progress with a political party ended when Presidents ended his term in 1952 unable to settle an unfortunate war in Korea, and another of whose Presidents is at the moment unable to settle an absolutely intractable one in Viet Nam.

Murray Kempton, the New York Post, two days later.

In the '66 elections three kinds of issues tended to predominate: racial problems, inflation, and the War in Vietnam. None of these issues was fully explored, either by the Left or the Mainstream, for their potential or actual significance. There was no concern with the interrelationship of issues, nor were issues seen as part of developments and trends in American Capitalism. Although that is not unusual, the inability of the New Left to develop these analyses and incorporate them into a political strategy concerning the elections was disturbing.

What about the mainstream? The communications media focused on the "backlash" as their primary concern. As was reported at mureo in the press after the elections, neither whitelash nor blacklash had overwhelming political impact. In the South racism flourished; in the North no significant trend developed. As for "lawrence selective"

the N.Y. Civilian Review Board referendum democracy proved fatal as had been previously demonstrated in California (Prop 13) and Chicago (Rand issue). No one has fully explored the politics of race and racism by relating it to the political and economic institutions that control the black community. If these institutions have a need to maintain the situations and values of racism, how do they affect electoral politics? If they do not, what would be their converse in America? Another important area of analysis is the unfortunate degree of racism prevalent in poor and working class white communities. What are the historical roots of this situation, its relation to economic questions, and then to voting patterns? Through the advances of racism is coming, or, after the '66 elections, racism is here, etc. that racism as proof of the validity of their thesis, what they forget is that both

political parties are committed to the principle of integration in capitalist society. (Didn't Goldwater say in Mississippi that the Republican Party is pro-segregationist?) Racial attitudes and values are channelled into the framework of mainstream electoral choices which do not diverge widely from accepted contemporary capitalist assumptions and objectives concerning race. The quantitative extension of social welfare measures, which is as far as the liberal wing of the Democratic Party will go, may well be stopped, but whether this means fascism or the maintenance of contemporary social economic relations remains to be seen.

The issue of inflation, being left as a local issue, is apparently what transfixed the Republicans most. Here the abdication of the left is even more disturbing. Inflation was seen as a result of the War in Vietnam (this analysis was not limited to the New Left but included such eminent economic figures as the President of S & H (Green Stamp). What was not pointed out was the relation of inflation to the American economy. The root of the problem of inflation is not a war which itself is a reflection of political and economic needs of American capitalism, but rather the economic and social structure of American society and its allocation of resources. If we look for radical structural change, what more imposing and personally felt issue than inflation could help us present our alternative position?

In mainstream political terms, inflation helps the Republicans because it seems to relate to the degree of Government spending here and abroad. What Republican fiscal conservatism implies is the maintenance or possible reduction of social welfare measures. Once again within both parties the actual allocation of resources is accepted, but the quantitative amount of spending in the area of domestic welfare, is what usually distinguishes the two parties.

The third issue, the war in Vietnam, was never distant to the hearts of the New Left and New Farmer people. Most of the time we went into these campaigns either within the Democratic Party or third party candidates (Clark in Connecticut, Weinstein and Aptheker in New York) who, although running on multi-issue platforms, were seen as independent peace candidates. Although these campaigns tried to link the war to domestic problems, they were unable adequately to present their position in the community or to constitute themselves as an electoral (political) force. They had no base in the community, a base which could have been developed by community organization, establishing themselves within the various social groups (labor, poor people, or middle class organizations) or even through financial spending that could use non-personal vehicles for the presentation of their ideas. (An interesting point to note is the use of money in electoral politics: e.g. Jim Weinstein running as an independent for Congress in Manhattan spent about \$ 0,000 for 3,400 votes - Gov Rockefeller spent over 5 million dollars for about 2 million votes; each spent about \$2.50 to \$3.00 a vote.)

But even more important, the peace candidates refused to come to grips with the problems of power in American society. They either accepted the assumptions of mainstream politics and just shifted to the left on one issue, or they refused to develop a comprehensive critique of American society and American politics and became involved in an alternative position within the electoral process. Peace candidates, especially of the radical variety, were seen as an extension of peace marches and demonstrations, even then the scope and momentum strength of the politics of protest were dramatically reduced, to the delight of the communications media.

The war issue was too serious for the Democrats and Republicans to count themselves to a position. The only candidates who wanted to stress the issue were blacks, and they were defeated (Dunham in Oregon, Hyatt in New Hampshire). Both the Democrats and Republican parties highly refused not to talk about Vietnam, especially since an essential difference in terms of a balanced political position separated the two parties.

What conclusions can be drawn from the 1966 elections? First, the much heralded ideological distinction between the parties

is actually dead. Second, the New Left by one perspective is not a new movement, it is not about to take place, it is in a coalition position, if it is to exist, its only relevance must come in a very objective and assumptions about work exclusively within the Democratic Party. On the other hand, those that really understand the contradictions and split half the industrial and the Democratic Party have yet to develop a comprehensive critique and strategy concerning electoral politics. Third, party conduct at this stage given their analysis and totally inadequate presentation of alternatives, seemed doomed to that fate haven for old-time radicals the electoral left lost.

What is interesting about the '66 elections is the overwhelming similarity of political positions within the mainstream. However, when a real or potentially real issue is presented, no coherent position and alternative is open to the public. The N.Y. Civilian Review Board is an excellent case in point. By the end of the campaign the only reasons for which voters were supposed to support the Board was the constitutional role of the John Birch Society (it used to be the Communist Party), the powerlessness of the Board, and the possible immunization of the police force from graft investigation (the sleeper clause). Only Mayor Lindsay occasionally emphasized the para-military nature of the police but did not extend the analogy to the question of the community and the police. The issue died there.

Where does that leave the New Left? Although this article is far from complete it tries to raise the questions that preclude analysis of the processes of electoral politics and the innumerable problems it raises for the New Left are to be dealt with inadequately and comprehensively we must develop theoretical insights and analyses directly related to the actualities and potentialities of American society.

American society is not a static entity. It is a process. In the U.S. electoral politics describes a constitutional consensus which means above all the absence of ideological diversity within or outside an electoral context. The politics of Welfare Statism, which is still a distant future, the only two important areas falling within the public sector are Defense and Education is, in itself, far removed from the politics of structural change and social transformation. (cf Dorothy Weidner's "Facts and Theories of the Welfare State" in The Socialist Register 1965, MR Press). To develop a new politics is rather an alternative politics is at the utmost for portance, unfortunately our politics are new in name and not in fact. What is absent is not only the strategy but the analysis itself. As a revolutionary of former times once said, without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary practice.

NEW FILMS

The Free University of New York now has available the following new anti-Vietnam films:

Peter Cossens (and the A.F.S.C.), "Time of the Leasts" (about 5 minutes, basically concerned with atomic, containing some brilliant humorous documentation).

UNY Workshop, "Dog Barking at Noses" (about 7 minutes, is rather surrealistic portrayal of the ritual of extermination in an industrial wasteland).

NFL (the "Vietnam") Vietnam (kind of "Fire") (about 20 minutes, the first half devoted to U.S. aggression, the second half to defensive response).

DRV (North Vietnam) "The White House Shock Brigade" (about 25 minutes, the whole concern is with the U.S. military and its role in Vietnam).

All of these films are available for free in 16 mm format. For more information, contact the Free University of New York, 100 University Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10003. For the New York City office, contact the New York City office, 100 University Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10003.

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ALIENATION or PARTICIPATION:

the sociology of PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY

Note: This article will be reprinted as an S.D.S. pamphlet available at 15¢ per copy in the N.C.

BY
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The history of industrialized, urbanized society is the history of man's increasing alienation from decision-making processes. As society has moved from village life to city, from closely-integrated primary groups in which one's relationship to all aspects of life was well-understood and well-regulated to a life in which individuals are no longer the captives of tradition, freedom has become possible. Yet freedom from tradition has not become freedom to decide the course of one's life, because modern life is organized, bureaucratic, increasingly centralized. The institutions which have freed Western Man from "the idiosyncrasy of rural life" at the same time have subjected him to organizational structures farther and farther removed from his immediate control. The factory, the school, government, religion, the media and even the arts are more and more subject to bureaucratic processes, and less and less open to communication from, much less, control by, those who work in them and are subject to them, except on the highest levels of the "power structure."

This dismal phenomenon has resulted in a new ideology, that of "alienation," the concept has even replaced the older notion of class-struggle, and is at once evidence of widespread social frustration in terms of life's condition for many, especially intellectuals who work in bureaucracies, and a new rallying cry for those who used to look to working-class revolution as a liberating force in world affairs. At the same time that alienation has become the slogan of the trapped functionary, the limitations of democracy have been vividly portrayed — in contemporary affairs, by the defeat of socialist revolutionism in the Soviet Union and Cuba, and in intellectual circles by the dismal writings of social scientists who talk of "the iron law of oligarchy," and the "organizational paradox." For a variety of reasons having to do with the nature of bureaucracy, it has come popularly to be accepted that some kinds of oligarchy — that is, a separation between leaders and the rank-and-file, between authorities that "know" and followers that "don't know," between exploiters and the exploited — are almost inevitable in all political systems. This view has been expressed by such well-known writers as Pareto, Mosca, Michels, Weber, Losswell, Selznick, Lipset, and of course by various critics of Soviet developments such as Burnham, Dijas, Shachtman, and countless lesser-known observers. Such authors have frequently differed as to whether this trend is good or bad, inevitable or somewhat controllable by "countervailing powers," but the trend has been either trumpeted or bemoaned by all — from Mosca to Burnham, from Kropotkin to Trotsky and Dwight Macdonald.

Today, alienation has become a symbolic enemy from which people want to be liberated. Participation, control over decisions that affect one's day-to-day existence, the demand that one be fulfilled, that work and play be relevant to one's sense of worth, are increasingly popular demands. This is so especially in the student generation, among those who find themselves on the road to relative financial success in large bureaucratic organizations which somehow do not appear satisfying or worthwhile, within a society which mouths the slogans of democracy and freedom only to muzzle any real expressions of freedom either here or abroad. To become servants in such organizational life is hardly consistent with what life is or should be about, within the potentials created by 20th Century civilization.

There is that anarchism, in the form of demands to control life of the immediate level, where control is relevant, is on the rise

II.

Man's history of separation from power over his personal destiny is accompanied by his history of struggle to become free to make his decisions. The "new left" student movement is part of that continuous struggle, and "participatory democracy" is the conceptual focus of this concern. The remainder of this paper will attempt to describe the nature, historical antecedents, and problems of "P.D." as a viable "alternative to alienation" and as a challenge to the intellectual pessimism of those who see democracy as inevitably doomed to the iron law of oligarchy.

Today, four segments of the student movement share the "P.D." approach, and provide the data on which this discussion is largely based: The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the Canadian Student Union for Peace Action (SUPA), and the "free university movement." None, however, perfectly illustrate "P.D." in practice, and, of course, the organizations differ in many other respects.

The idea of "P.D." grew up largely in response to pragmatic, in-the-field problems confronted by SNCC and SDS during various organizing campaigns. Educational problems faced by Northern white volunteers in Mississippi's Freedom Schools in the summer of 1964 particularly helped to focus attention on the problem of students' reactions to authority figures, to whom they reacted in a hostile and negative manner, in keeping with their own life experiences. The failure of welfare agencies in the North to organize the poor through traditional agency practices also brought home the fact that new approaches were needed, as did the failure of slum public education. The increasing frustration of some college students with the mass-production nature of information-receiving, which passes for education in many institutions of higher learning, further augmented an experimental atmosphere covering the entire range of authority-dependency relationships — everything from management-worker to bureaucrat-client, to teacher-student and even parent-adolescent within the last few years. It should also be said that certain of the more pioneering efforts of the government's anti-poverty programs at one point showed receptivity to some new ideas, although that phase seems to be passe now. The movement's response was at once a technique and a philosophy of action.

Little of theoretical interest has been written about "P.D." Partly this is a problem of energies being applied to other issues, and partly it is due to a basic suspicion of theory in the first place within the student movement. But a failure to grapple with theory and history of the movement can cripple efforts to deal realistically with future problems, this essay is in part designed to begin to do such grappling, and stimulate thinking within the movement. A relevant charge, for example, has been that "P.D." has never been adequately defined, despite all the talk about it. This I shall attempt to deal with at once.

"P.D." involves the notion (a) that people are inherently capable of understanding their problems and expressing themselves about these problems and their solutions, if in a social context in which freedom of expression is possible, that is, a situation in which one is free of personal and political hang-ups; (b) that no real solutions to

problems are possible without the fullest participation of the people in these solutions, nor without the development of freedom from dependency on authorities and experts; and (c) for community-organizing types of groups, that cultural groups which differ in their value systems from the dominant culture cannot be organized unless a context of free expression is created; and (d) for education-oriented groups, that real education (as distinct from learning information only) cannot take place for anyone unless a situation is created in which the student is able to evaluate what goes on around him critically, without being hung-up on the judgements and values of persons in an authority relationship to him. Finally, of course, "P.D." is a way of functioning in groups so that those ideas are realized, for the purpose of helping to create a society in which everyone will participate in decisions concerning his everyday and long-range affairs to his fullest potential. The assumption is that the good society is one in which people will want to try to function to their fullest potential, and that, conversely, a society cannot be good unless this happens. Further, we must sow the seeds of the good society within the context of the bad, particularly within its movements for change, because the end is implied in the means, and a democratic society cannot be created by non-democratic agents of change. By the same token, the precise nature of the good society has to be determined by this same democratic process, which precludes our attempting to blueprint the future.

In practice, then, "P.D." involves such techniques as running meetings without agendas or presiding officers (or, at worst, rotating presiding officers); allowing officers minimal decision-making powers away from the general meeting; running meetings by consensus or "sense-of-the-meeting" decision-making; refusing to limit discussion or debate; letting as many executive-administrative decisions flow from the whole body as possible, without delegation of responsibilities to agents or committees; and encouraging the body to act immediately on decisions taken, that is, dropping the artificial division between meeting and non-meeting so that in the extreme the meeting is a community and the community a virtually constant meeting. "P.D.'s" basic effort is, therefore, to approach direct democracy as nearly as possible, and to discourage the development of a leader-follower dichotomy.

The basic approach of "P.D." is neither new nor unique. Among other approaches which share many of the same assumptions, have been these (and in each case the literature has much to contribute to the present movement): (1) small group sociology, which has studied the effects of democratic and non-democratic procedures on people and on getting tasks done, for a long time; (2) the psychological tradition of learning theory and the educationalist tradition of John Dewey, with their emphases on the importance of motivation, "readiness" to learn, and learning-by-doing; (3) the psychiatric tradition, especially existential and Rogerian therapy, which points up the importance of developing the freedom to make independent decisions in life; (4) the political traditions of anarchism, libertarian socialism, and left socialism, particularly in terms of the faith that working people have the ability to make decisions about the work place (related to the concept of activists and workers' control), and that socialism cannot be achieved from above; (5) Quaker and Gandhian non-violence, which assumes that all members of a group are worth hearing, that none should be overridden or beaten down, hence the practice of running meetings and other gatherings by means of a consensus rather than a parliamentary system.

In particular, (especially for those concerned with de-alienating the educational experience, say, at the college level) attention should be drawn to the work of Carl Rogers and his colleagues in psychology. This has assumed various labels closely parallel to "P.D.": client-centered therapy, worker-centered management, student-centered teaching, and, more broadly, group-centered leadership, which is precisely what "P.D." is. Descriptions of the 1964 Mississippi Freedom Schools, and some "free university" experiments, could be interchanged with those of Rogerian education, and perhaps a brief description of student-centered teaching might be of value to members of the student movement, situated as they are in an educational, or perhaps pseudo-educational context.

Student-centered teaching is designed to overcome the "authority hang-up" which interferes with both culturally-different and culturally-similar groups' learning to deal with themselves, each other, and the world around them realistically, critically, and in ways that will solve their problems as they perceive them. It is a technique that maximizes motivation to learn, improvement of self-image or self-esteem, more objective thinking, and the accomplishment of tasks seen as worthwhile by the class, by means of giving power to the class as a group, hence a de-alienating experience. The agenda for the class is set by the whole group, and not by the teacher. The class is unstructured by the teacher, who acts primarily as a resource person whose job is to help the group develop as a group. The teacher limits his participation, especially at the outset, in order to overcome the "authority hang-up." The teacher tries to be as sympathetic, open, and helpful as possible, and to believe in the worth of each individual. In short, student-centered teaching is self-determination in the educational setting, "P.D." in the classroom, and a powerful tool for subverting the "multi-versity's" emphasis on creating servicerment for the Establishment.

Another closely-related phenomenon which can contribute significantly to practitioners of "P.D." is the so-called "T-Group," or training group, an idea developed by the National Training Laboratories, a subsidiary of the National Education Association. The definition of a T-Group will illustrate why it is so closely related to "P.D.": "A T-Group is a relatively unstructured group in which individuals participate as learners. The date for learning... are the transactions among members, their own behavior in the group, as they struggle to create a productive and viable organization, a miniature society" and again, "Democracy stresses the potential ability of people collaboratively to define and solve the problems they encounter in trying to live and work together. It posits that common problems cannot be well solved without the participation of those affected by the solution... (and) assumes a procedure of consensual validation as the final arbiter of the rightness of any collective judgement or arrangement... The democratic principle of 'consensus' assumes that group agreements can be wrong... 'Soul Sessions' of a few years ago were a related phenomenon, as is the group therapy but becoming, rather than on the past or the unconscious. The T-Group (also called 'stivity training'), unlike group therapy, furthermore makes no assumptions about the mental health of the participants.

The T, Rogerian, or "P.D."-type group, then, is a situation in which the dynamics of the group process help the participants learn more about themselves, about the people, and about the wider world, by means of sharing the experience of the process creates, optimally, a situation in which many of the participants have the confidence to speak out, and the more verbal learn to listen. The lack of leadership (involving, sometimes, the conscious refusal of a sign of authority) to become the authority that the group expects him to be) to become more self-critical, engage in direct decision-making, and become more self-determining and less alienated.

DECEMBER N.C.

DECEMBER EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE
December 29-30-31
Berkeley, California

CAMPUS RADICALISM AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Housing for the conference participants will be provided in the homes of Berkeley SDS members in the vicinity of the campus and in the university co-ops.

Preparations are being made for workshops on a variety of topics: The campus as economic organization; the campus as community and institution, campus organizing for pressure or power; the campus as a political force; the campus and the constituency of a third party; the campus and the draft; the campus and educational reform; students as organizers; students as a social class; high school campuses. Additional workshops dealing with electoral politics and the labor movement will also be held. Working papers for the conference should be sent to:

Northen California SDS
924 Howard St.
San Francisco, California.

NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING
December 27-28
Berkeley, California

The December National Council meeting will be held the two days preceding the December Conference. This will enable those who must return early to their campuses to attend the Council meeting first.

ATTENTION! CHAPTERS!

Chapters must submit the names of their chapter delegate(s) to the National Office no later than December 23 in order to permit the National Secretary to compile the list of voting delegates before leaving for Berkeley.

LATIN AMERICA COMMITTEE ESTABLISHED

by Paul Booth

A national meeting in Chicago Nov. 4th created the North American Congress on Latin America, to organize and voice opposition to U.S. economic and political domination of Latin America.

The Congress has established an office in New York, and set up four working committees to outline program plans leading up to its next meeting in February. An editorial committee, chaired by John Gerassi, author of *The Great Fear in Latin America* has been established to put out a popular English-language monthly with analysis, news, journalism of exposure, etc. A research committee, chaired by Prof. Brady Tyson of New York, is setting up a national network of watchdog committees paying attention to specific countries, U. S. corporations, and student movements, and is preparing to publish a pamphlet series.

An organizing and action committee, co-chaired by Steve Weissman of SDS and Scott Robinson of Cornell, is responsible for speakers and exhibit tours, for planning of direct action campaigns, and for building the network of activists prepared to work on Latin America questions. Administrative (chaired by Prof. Richard Schell of Princeton) and Finance (chaired by Procter Lippincott of the NACLA staff) committees are also at work.

Temporarily, NACLA headquarters are in rm. 924, 475 Riverside Drive, NYC 10027. Staff are Fred Goff and Procter Lippincott. SDS chapters and individual members should contact them to plug in to these activities.

The following statement has been issued publicly by the committee:

A growing number of North Americans are deeply troubled by the widening gulf between our own lives and interests and the lives, needs, and aspirations of the more than 200 million people of Central and South America.

The North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA) has been formed by a group of such North Americans as a result of serious consideration of the existing vehicles for confronting this problem.

Through research, publication and action, we seek to:

- examine the Latin American policy of the United States — both government policy and the policy of North American corporations, philanthropic foundations and educational institutions;

- deepen our understanding of the process and implications of social, political and economic change and the agents of this change;

- examine the assumptions underlying a "harmony of interest" approach to U.S. - Latin American relations and explore new relations, which, due to a conflict of interests, may be needed;

- build a community of informed and committed individuals who combine research and action and who will work to broaden the base in North America for a reorientation of U.S. policy toward Latin America.

The Congress is interested in maintaining contact (via a newsletter and eventually a publication) with university, church, labor, and other citizens' groups across the nation who share these concerns. We also want to explore ways of relating these groups to one another. Please contact us at our provisional headquarters: Room 924, 475 Riverside Drive, New York City, N. Y. 10027; telephone 2 2 870-2507.

NEW LEFT NOTES

Published weekly by Students for a Democratic Society, 1608 W. Madison, Chicago, Ill. 60612. Phone (312) 666-3874. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, Illinois. Subscriptions: \$1 a year for members; \$5 a year for non-members. Signed articles and letters are the responsibility of the writer. Unsigned articles are the responsibility of the Editor, Thane Crasnow.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Nick Engelson, president, Carl Davidson, vice-president, and Greg Selvert, national secretary.
National Office: 1608 W. Madison, Rm. 206, Chicago, Ill. 60612 (312) 666-3874.
New York City: 49 West 27th St., NYC, NY 10011; (212) 889-5797.
Niagara Region: 107 Dryden Rd., Ithaca, NY.
Northern California: 924 Howard St., San Francisco, Calif. (415) 362-9922.
Southern California: 1347-1/2 Riviera Ave., Van Nuys, Calif.
New England: 2076 Massachusetts Ave. Cambridge Mass (617) 547-5457.
Particular Education Project: 510 East William Ann Arbor Mich.

VOL. I, NO. 45 let the people decide NOVEMBER 25, 1966

...facing the crisis of the alienated in...
...at all circumstances were equally...
...to throw out valuable tools which con...
...use and assault by those who knowingly or...
...perhaps necessary to look at "P.D." as a utopia, in the...
...available given various sociological and psychological...
...available in steps only and certainly valuable as a tool in...
...problems such as education, industrial democracy, organizing...
...people a strategy for self-determination. Qualified by this state...
...are some of the urgent problems to which advocates of "P.D." must...
...es?

...problem areas are perhaps most critical: that involving the nature and...
...of small groups versus larger groups; and that involving the nature and...
...of organizations, democratic or bureaucratic alike (such as the problems...
...by the "iron lawyers" mentioned above). The first is a set of problems in...
...interpersonal relations; and second, impersonal, structural relationships (which...
...of people, of course).

A number of people gathered together in one place is not necessarily a group. The...
...development of group consciousness and morale, including a set of norms about the...
...way things are done in a group, and including a climate of acceptance for dissenting...
...views and for the non-verbal participant, takes time. The larger the number of people, the...
...longer a time it takes, especially in a democratic group, because for democracy...
...really to work we have already said we must have maximum participation, and the...
...development of individual potential to contribute. We must maximize interaction and...
...communication, to create what is in some senses a family, a fraternity in the true...
...sense of that word. This cannot be done at one meeting. Furthermore, there are limits...
...to the number of people that can effectively work as a democratic decision-making...
...group. When we run over 25 to 30, there are limits to how much interaction there...
...can be regardless of how long the group works together. It is, therefore, clear that a...
...one-shot mass meeting cannot develop a real spirit of "P.D.", not even if the leader...
...of the meeting refuses to lead and there is a lot of free discussion. In a context in...
...volving short time and/or a lot of people, one does not become free of authority...
...hang-ups. People with reputations are listened to in a different way than people who...
...are unknown.

Under such circumstances, that is, when "group-ness" has not developed, the dis...
...senter fears to speak out. First of all, if it is a consensus group, he will not like to...
...block action and thereby risk unpopularity, especially when leaders with reputations...
...are far an action. Or, in the attempt to maximize his own popularity and carry the...
...decision (rather than educate a few, but lose), he will tend to become a demagogue. In...
...this fashion a consensus procedure sometimes encourages demagoguery and non-...
...democratic actions. In many ways, the procedural safeguards of a parliamentary...
...system insure the rights of the dissenter, and promote the idea of speaking to educate...
...rather than to sway much better than a "sense of the meeting" system.

In large groups, then, especially in the short run, hang-ups about authority are en...
...couraged. Authoritarian types tend to dominate, because the pay-off for demagoguery...
...is higher. Real democracy is not possible in such an atmosphere. This is the critical...
...distinction between participatory and plebiscitary democracy. Ten thousand people...
...waving their rifles and shouting "yes" is not "P.D."

Proponents of "P.D." thus must confront this issue: in large-scale society, how much...
...decentralization will be possible and necessary to promote real democracy? Centraliza...
...tion and efficiency are not necessarily linked — nor are democracy and inefficiency. Yet...
...in a modern nation tasks must be delegated. Direct participation is not always...
...possible. The concrete problem of where to draw the line has still to be faced.

In addition, "P.D." groups share certain problems with all other groups that a...
...created to carry out tasks in some organized way. As an organization comes to mat...
...paradoxes are born which frequently abort the effort; and even when life goes on, con...
...tradictions become inherent in an organization's career.

For example: say an organization is created to further democracy. It involves cooper...
...ation among members. Yet all cooperation involves, also, delegation of some tasks so...
...that there is a distinction between initiators of tasks, and those who carry them out. The...
...former and the latter frequently have different sets of priorities. Agents learn skills...
...that the others do not possess, and confront situations which the others have not...
...foreseen, but which must be dealt with. Particularly if the organization is engaged in...
...conflict, the tendency is strong for those with skills to maintain themselves in power...
...due to the "emergency" at hand.

Another paradox is that between the democratic content of a group, and the progress...
...of the group towards a measure of power in the community. Too much discussion, and...
...we stop moving; too little, and we are no longer what we were. To achieve a goal, we...
...need unity, but to achieve unity it sometimes becomes necessary to compromise, to...
...glass over some very important issues — also when we make alliances. Which shall it be?

All formal organizations, no matter how democratically conceived, develop informal...
...patterns based on prestige, friendships, cliques, personalities, and other subjective...
...factors such as race and sex. These are all part of the paradox: to some degree they...
...all help to undermine the democratic processes of the organization. In democratic...
...organizations, particularly those that are set up to help create a better society, the...
...ends are very much involved with the means — and organizational short-cuts can be...
...dangerous. But organizations are composed of people, and people are never as pure...
...as the goals for which the organization was created. 6

To put the matter in its harshest terms, he who says organization implies oligarchy...
...in much the same way that he who negotiates also must betray. There is no way out...
...of this. It is the socialist's equivalent of original sin, and it must be lived with, acknow...
...ledged, confronted if we are to survive as a democratic movement.

In conclusion: "P.D." is a very positive synthesis of many earlier ideas concerning...
...the need to involve people in decisions concerning their own destinies. The revolution...
...on the part of many people towards the increasing rate of bureaucratization of the...
...modern world will likely lead to more experimentation, to the development of many...
...more alternatives to alienation, of which direct decision-making is only one. The devel...
...opment of dual or parallel institutions, such as the "free universities" will take this...
...involve experiments of the "P.D." kind, and in turn their "graduates" will take this...
...concern into other institutions of our society. Yet there are serious problems con...
...nected with the practice of "P.D.". If we confront them honestly we shall progress.

This essay is based on a paper first read at the 1965 Meetings of the Penn...
...sylvania Sociological Society. Another version was published in the Canadian...
...magazine *Our Generation*, May, 1966. It was rewritten for S.D.S.

FOOTNOTES:

1. Dwight Macdonald, *The Root Is Man*, a collection taken from *Politics* magazine, remains an outstanding contribution to this kind of discussion.
2. See, for example, Hare, Borgatta and Boies (eds.), *Small Groups*, and other works of this kind.
3. Hal Draper's cogent "The Two Souls of Socialism," *New Politics*, v. 5, no. 1, is an essential statement on this.
4. Compare Carl Rogers, *On Becoming A Person*, ch. 15, with Florence Howe, *Mississippi Freedom Schools: The Politics of Education*, Harvard Ed. Review, Summer 1965.
5. Merton, J. W. and B. L. (eds.), *Group Theory and Laboratory Method*, 1934.
6. Merton, J. W. (ed.), *On Bureaucracy and Organizations*.

REFUSE TELEPHONE TAX

You have it in your power to hold back this tax.
Some have stopped paying —
their phone service continues.

We appeal...

The United States is the only country in the world which taxes the telephone service. This is a tax on the use of the telephone, not on the service itself. It is a tax on the use of the telephone, not on the service itself. It is a tax on the use of the telephone, not on the service itself.

Why pay the tax?

Telephone tax is a waste!

Telephone tax is a waste! It is a tax on the use of the telephone, not on the service itself. It is a tax on the use of the telephone, not on the service itself. It is a tax on the use of the telephone, not on the service itself.

Telephone tax is a waste! It is a tax on the use of the telephone, not on the service itself. It is a tax on the use of the telephone, not on the service itself. It is a tax on the use of the telephone, not on the service itself.

What does your

telephone tax pay for?

Telephone tax is a waste! It is a tax on the use of the telephone, not on the service itself. It is a tax on the use of the telephone, not on the service itself. It is a tax on the use of the telephone, not on the service itself.

- mass bombing, and other atrocities in the streets resulting in the deaths of thousands of Vietnamese—about 100,000 in the last year and a half.
- forcing young Americans to "go to Vietnam or be killed" situations. Over 5,000 American G.I.'s have been killed in Vietnam.
- committing a military dictatorship.
- violation of the Nuremberg Accords, the U.N. Charter and the Geneva Accords of 1948.
- committing a crime against humanity against a people who were all to be alive and in domestic peace.

Who benefits this tax?

A tax on the use of the telephone, not on the service itself. It is a tax on the use of the telephone, not on the service itself. It is a tax on the use of the telephone, not on the service itself.

- It is a tax on the use of the telephone, not on the service itself. It is a tax on the use of the telephone, not on the service itself. It is a tax on the use of the telephone, not on the service itself.
- Anyone who has a phone tax today to pay this tax.
- Anyone who has a phone tax today to pay this tax.
- The money collected is used to pay for the telephone service.

What happens to telephone tax refusers?

Telephone tax is a waste! It is a tax on the use of the telephone, not on the service itself. It is a tax on the use of the telephone, not on the service itself. It is a tax on the use of the telephone, not on the service itself.

Please send this card to: National Tax Refusers' Association, 100 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill. 60601.

I hereby declare that I am a tax refuser and that I am not a member of the National Tax Refusers' Association.

Signed _____

Date _____

1. I am not a member of the National Tax Refusers' Association.

2. I am not a member of the National Tax Refusers' Association.

3. I am not a member of the National Tax Refusers' Association.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____

Zip _____

Phone _____

Telex _____

The New York Times Magazine

SEPTEMBER 23, 1966 • SECTION 6, PART 1

A Critic Calls for— A Third Theater That Is Superb, Gay and Wild

By ROBERT BRUSTEIN

CERTAINLY the most explosive play thus far turned up by the third theater is Barbara Crampton's *MacBird*, scheduled to open off-Broadway in November. This work establishes its young author as an extraordinary gifted person for converting *Macbeth* to our time, she demonstrates an unusual ear for Shakespearean verse as an impressive ability to adapt a classic and a work of a past age to a modern man.

It is like asking about whether to leave the new Administration or work for change from within. The problems implicit in *MacBird* are clear and apparent. It is a work in which all personal loyalties are seen as irrelevant, never hungry and bloody, and which comes off well. But although the play is bound to start a storm of protest and all of it is a good thing, and may even be praised by some governmental agency, it will very probably go down as one of the best plays to be seen in the American theater as well as one of the most interesting.

ROBERT BRUSTEIN is a dean of the Yale School of Drama and drama critic for The New Yorker. He has written "The Theater of Revolt" and "Theater of Discontent."



The cover of a "satirical" play and the author's name are a prime example of Brustein's "Theater of Revolt" and "Theater of Discontent."

\$1.00
SHEETS FOR A...
100 W. MADISON ST.
CHICAGO, ILL. 60601

SHOPPERS BOYCOTT

TABLE FIGURES ON CHAIN STORE PROFITS

	Net Profit as % of Net Worth**	1965	1964
W. J. New York		9.05%	10.26%
W. J. Oak and Co.		14.71	14.26
W. J. Cincinnati		11.87	10.51
W. J. Markets Philadelphia		8.42	9.12
W. J. Tea Chicago		8.92	7.20
W. J. Food Philadelphia		8.90	7.59
W. J. Duane Jacksonville Fla.		22.10	21.27
W. J. Tea Melrose Park		2.06	11
W. J. Grand Union East Paterson, N.J.		10.72	8.54
W. J. First National Somerville Mass.		6.59	7.43
W. J. Colonial Stores Atlanta		11.55	10.57
W. J. Arden-Mayfair Los Angeles		2.28	-
W. J. Allied Supermarkets Detroit		03	12.08
W. J. Stop and Shop Boston		12.99	2.33
W. J. Lucky San Leandro, Calif.		19.50	3.99
W. J. Food Giant S.F. Springs, Calif.		13.40	.58
W. J. Rex Owl Hopkins Minn.		10.58	0.23
W. J. Van's Los Angeles		18.79	5.42
W. J. Coast Coffee Cleveland		19.98	15.27
W. J. Ardenmayfair Los Angeles		13.87	10.62
W. J. Loblaw Buffalo		5.24	5.39
W. J. Albertson's Boise, Idaho		21.38	19.06
W. J. Snap Rite Albuquerque		13.45	13.73
W. J. Giant Food Landover Md.		10.29	0.07
W. J. Borman Food (Detroit)		22.86	20.18
W. J. Super Mkts. Op. Rtg. Cranfield, N.J.		22.33	9.20
W. J. Weingarten Houston		11.24	40

** Net Income as % of Net Worth: This is the percent of net profit after paying taxes, salaries, advertising, games and all other costs of carrying on business.

Source: Food Topics, February, 1966

Prepared by: The Research Committee
Washington Area Shoppers for Lower Prices
St. Stephen's Community Center
1700 Connecticut Avenue, N.W. 20004 and Newton
phone: 265-5135

This is a list of proposals from the Washington housewives as to how to support the boycott. DEAS?

WHAT CAN I DO AS AN INDIVIDUAL?

1. Contact all organizations that you belong to for instance your church, women's club, fraternal organization, labor union, black club, PTA, community organization and others and ask them to endorse the SHOPPERS BOYCOTT. Also, make sure that the organization assumes responsibility for leafletting door to door and leafletting and/or picketing the supermarkets in your area, etc. Furthermore, your organization should also take responsibility for mobilizing other organizations in your neighborhood behind the SHOPPERS BOYCOTT.
2. Volunteer your services, for instance picketing, leafletting, driving a car, doing office work, etc. to our city-wide headquarters at 3421 Center Street, N.W. 20018 & Newton Telephone 265-5135, or contact your local area headquarters.
3. Talk to your neighbors and friends about the SHOPPERS BOYCOTT. Give them some leaflets to distribute. Get them active too.
4. Make a \$ contribution, if you can afford it. The SHOPPERS BOYCOTT desperately needs money for leaflets, telephone, transportation and hundreds of other expenses. If you can't make a personal contribution, organize a cake sale, or bread-baking party, social contributions, or ask your organization to make a contribution. Please send all contributions to our city-wide headquarters at 1210th Street, N.E.
5. Write a letter to the newspaper or call a radio talk show about the SHOPPERS BOYCOTT. The plight of the consumer, and the story of high food prices must be told far and wide by radio, newspapers, TV, and every other way.
6. Ask political candidates to endorse our boycott. In Virginia and Maryland, we must elect every candidate who wants our votes to endorse our fight against higher prices.
7. And of course DON'T BUY FROM THE CHAIN STORES. Every individual, whether or not he can contribute in other ways, has the responsibility to himself and her neighbor to keep up the SHOPPERS BOYCOTT until the chain stores accept our demands.

WHAT CAN AN ORGANIZATION DO?

Endorse the SHOPPERS BOYCOTT. Every organization in the Greater Washington Area is being asked to endorse the SHOPPERS BOYCOTT. Please phone your endorsement to our city-wide headquarters. Organizations are also being asked to make contributions to the SHOPPERS BOYCOTT in money or resources when possible. Washington Area Shoppers for Lower Food Prices needs money, paper for leaflets, fact sheets, leaflets, and buses to transport boycotters to CO-OPs, another symposium, stores in the suburbs, and many other things. We need help.

Head in behalf of the SHOPPERS BOYCOTT. All organizations should have leaflets door to door on the street corners at all meetings, and all meetings must be told about the SHOPPERS BOYCOTT and asked to

endorse the SHOPPERS BOYCOTT. Call all the other organizations, labor clubs, women's clubs, fraternal organizations, and all other organizations to endorse the SHOPPERS BOYCOTT and urge them to

endorse the SHOPPERS BOYCOTT. CHURCH ON... has been essential for our initial... of the faith be they... the SHOPPERS BOYCOTT.

CANADA

The new regulations are not aimed at Draft Dodge's Official policy which often bears no resemblance to actual practice holds that draft questions are a matter to be worked out between the Immigrant and the USA, and are of no concern to the Dept. of Immigration.

Official policy provides three ways to gain landed immigrant status.

One may come to Canada as a visitor and apply here for status at an Immigration Office in the interior. In order to do this one must have actually intended to come as a visitor and genuinely experienced a change of mind once up here. Examples might be an especially good job offer or falling suddenly in love with a Canadian girl with the intention to marry. This is very difficult to establish, and must be genuine. In practice this alternative is rarely pointed out to people, but the regulations do provide for it. Status is rarely granted by this route, however. Usually people are told to proceed to the nearest border point and apply there. Consequently we do not advise using this method in any case.

2. One may apply at the border at time of entry. This involves a half-hour or so examination by the Border Guards, after which status may be granted conditional upon a physical examination which is no problem. The advantage to this is that it is instant. However, the border guards apparently ignore the official policy and sometimes do refuse people apparently on the grounds that they are draft dodgers. It is difficult to gain entry by this method unless one is clean-cut, has some money (in one case \$600) or has a job offered to him in Canada. A Bachelor's degree is helpful. None

of these things is a guarantee, however. You advance because the examining officials, frequently should be used, are hard pressed for time and must be preceded by a phone call to the SUPA Office where the latest requirements and approach to the problem can be obtained. This method is but it is available to those who have no other choice.

3. One writes for an application to the nearest Consulate or to the Dept. of Immigration, Ottawa. One's form will be examined and can be easily filled out with the help of the SUPA office or the SUPA Pamphlet. One to three months later, after a security check with the FBI and assuming that one fits the requirements for Immigration, one is issued a temporary card for entry as a landed immigrant. The physical examination can be taken anywhere in the U.S. prior to entry. With this card one applies at the border. This method takes time, but the temporary card takes most of the discretion out of the hands of the border guards, so people who look clean-cut usually have no difficulty whatever. We recommend this method.

In any of these approaches, an appeal to the Minister is available and should be made if one's application is rejected. Make the appeal and contact the SUPA office for legal help in pursuing it.

There are technicalities all along the way by whatever approach one chooses, never try to apply without first obtaining the assistance of the staff of the SUPA Draft Project c/o SUPA, 658 Spadina Ave., Toronto 4, Ontario or the Canadian Committee to Aid War Resisters, P.O. Box 4231 Vancouver 9 B.C. Canada.

DO YOU KNOW THIS GIRL



JUAN LEE AUGENBLICK
640 Overhill Road
South Orange, N.J.

Age: 15 yrs Height: 5'3"
Color: White, extremely fair skin Weight: 35 lbs
Hair: Straight blond, past shoulders Eyes: Hazel

Occasionally wears heavy black round frame glasses

Plays guitar

May be wearing black trench coat or black Mexican poncho with brown and beige markings, gold ring with rough surface and deep holes, heavy silver necklace with large oval rings

Affiliations: National Ethical Youth Organization
Congress of Racial Equality
Students for a Democratic Society

Last seen in New York City on Sunday, Sept. 18, 1966

PLEASE CALL COLLECT IF YOU HAVE ANY INFORMATION

Mrs. Ted Lowy
640 Overhill Road
South Orange, N.J.
70-762-5534

At Home Address
70-762-5534
70-762-5534
70-762-5534

Editorial secretary's report

(Continued from page 3)

...is in a sense not to take
...we do that we aban-
...ism... need to
...ed houses... and freedom
...can be the naive
...community and relatedness to
...before anything else can be
...the midst of the de-
...evolutionary movement. R
...TIME, remain in total sym-
...search and regard what
...evolutionary just because
...FREEDOM NOW does not
...my allegiance to their struggle for
FREEDOM.

ABOVE ALL I WOULD NEVER ABANDON
THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE FOR WHAT THE
POLITICS CALL POLIS

POLITICS POLITICS AND THE NON-FREEDOM, NON-MOVEMENT

The life to live which is offered by those
who disavowed the "anarchist" freedom
movement is political realism. The line
of these guys are a bunch of beatnik
looks who don't know nothing, so let's talk
seriously about realities-let's talk politics.
Talking politics rather than talking about
freedom as being realistic, being realistic
is not being sentimental or romantic.
Talking politics is talking realistically about
realities. The interesting thing about anti-
freedom politics is that it defines reality in
terms of an existing system which lacks
everything that I consider important. Its cyni-
sism about the "freedom movement" and its

NAC minutes

November 11 1966

Members present: Steve Kindred, Earl
Silbar, Jean Tepperman, Paul Lauter, Greg
Calvert, Rich Berkowitz.

Members absent: Brent Kromer, Tom Con-
...ha O'Reilly, Jack Boleman, Dee Jacob-
son, Carl Davidson, Art Rosenblum.

Agenda - 1. Finances 2. Adult organizing
3. Chicago Peace Council 4. December NC
and Conference 5. LID Mailing 6. Penn
State 7. Staff 8. Printing and literature
10. REP 11. Speaking engagement.

1. Finances. (a). We now have \$49 in the
bank. The financial situation is DESPERATE.
We need additional funds immediately. (b).
A fund-raising drive is now being co-ordi-
nated in the New York City area. (c). \$100
will be borrowed from Chris Hobson for
printing buttons.

2. Adult Organizing. Ed Richer, through
correspondences, proposes (a) that we begin
the groundwork for MDS and (b) at all
possible (b) he begin full-time organizing
with adult radicals. The NO will send Richer
all listing and files it has on MDS.

3. Chicago Peace Council. The CPC has
asked SDS to send a delegate, who would
represent SDS, to its meetings. A discussion
about the Chicago Region and Chapters
developed out of this. It was decided that
the CPC should contact local chapters on
the matter and that it was not the business
of the NO to conduct local affairs.

4. December NC and Conference. A site
has not yet been determined. So far all
efforts to get a site outside an urban com-
plex has failed. An idea for transportation-
barrow union cars. It was the feeling of the
NAC that minimum resources be spent on
resource people for the conference. Carl
Davidson is going to California after Thank-
sgiving to work on the planning of the con-
ference.

5. LID Mailing. The LID Bulletin and Amer-
ican Federationist will be sent to the mem-
bership.

6. Penn State. A movement against the
administration has developed and Penn
State SDS requested that the NO send
somebody to help. Mark Kleinman was giv-
ing permission to go.

7. Staff. Due Jacobson was hired as in-
formal Asst. National Secretary and office
manager.

8. Printing and Literature. (a) a printing
company was leased from John Rosten (our
printer). There will be a chapter mailing
in the P.P. study Guides and all existing
materials. Davidson's paper in Student
syndicalism will be re-printed in the bulletin
in the American Council of Educators.

Submitted by
Rich Berkowitz

motivations is a perfect reflection of the
cynicism of corporate liberal society about
human nature and human possibility. Those
who demand community relatedness and
love simply don't understand reality. They
are naive. What the movement needs is
politics - that is a good dosage of reality.

Strange argument. Reality as defined by
people who demanded relatedness, com-
munity, and love become an effective revolu-
tionary force or is their only alternative to
it. In the language of the politics, reality
as defined by the impossible system of non-
alternatives is what we have to accept be-
fore we can be effective (or efficient or
one of those liberal categories). The politi-
cal alternative is, finally, no alternative at
all. It is only a cynical argument for not
raising the most important questions. The
"political" and realistic stance is no alter-
native because it would leave us without a
movement and certainly without freedom.

BEYOND THE BELOVED COMMUNITY A REVOLUTIONARY SELF-UNDERSTANDING

The next important question becomes: Is
there a revolutionary alternative? Is there
a revolutionary self-understanding which
transcends the dead-end of the be-
loved community while incorporating the rev-
olutionary demands of the movement? Can the
people who demanded relatedness, com-
munity and love become an effective rev-
olutionary force, or is the only alternative to
cop out in the face of having no alterna-
tive? Must they seek the revolution in
increasingly in various
tized forms of retreat
privatism?

I think not, because
that a truly revolu-
be built out of the
demands and out of
tionary hopes the en-
of freedom. I do
such a movement com-
munity, it can only be a rev-

When freedom
freedom so strong
within their own lives. One of two things
happens: either they despair and lose hope,
or, their freedom becomes a new kind of
reality and hope becomes a new kind of force
in their lives.

We wanted freedom so badly. What did
we find: a constant struggle. We had a
revolutionary vision of a free society in
which we discovered that we would never
live. And then, perhaps, we began to dis-
cover that revolutionary freedom and the
freedom of a revolutionary were not the
same thing. The first was what we wanted
for all men; the second would be the reality
of our lives. But, up against all that, we need
not abandon either our attachment to free-
dom or our commitment to the struggle. We
are not the new life of freedom; but that does
not mean that we cannot be the force which
gives it birth. We are not the beloved com-
munity; we can only hope to become the
revolutionary community of hope which will
give birth to the beloved society, the society
of men liberated by our efforts but not
bound by our failures. Our freedom is not
to be free but to be a force for freedom.

I think I understand the frustration and
despair, Ken and Pat. I also believe in the
revolutionary force of the motivations. I can
only say that the image which will bind us
together will never be born out of the failures
of the present, but, rather, out of our vision
of the tomorrow which you and I will never
know.

There is a deeply moving book which most
movement people have read: A. S. Neill's
Summerhill. I felt despondent after having
read it because it talked of a revolutionary
model of the world, and because I knew that
I was not nor could ever be a product of
freedom in child-rearing. I knew that my
freedom would consist of struggling to create
a world in which Summerhills would be the
right of all children. Sometimes, I have
wanted to go away to Summerhill and teach
and live and be a freer person. We have all
longed for our utopia, and Summerhill is
one of them, just as the Beloved Community
was one of them.

I have only meant to say that we can hope
for Summerhill, but that we must stay here
and fight if we are not to abandon the field
to those who believe that Harvard or Yale or
Hill Military Academy are decent models for
human society.

JOHNSON & VIETNAM

(Continued from page 3)

Vietnam war is a major factor in this situa-
tion. The war has led to a shortage of various
kinds of goods and has created an expendi-
ture - met out of taxation - for which there
is not an equivalent volume of production.

But President Johnson, with the gambler's
everlasting conviction that the latest "system"
is the answer to all his troubles, has now
gone overboard for the latest McNamara
formula for applying the methods of big
business to foreign affairs. The most recent
theory dreamed up by Defense Secretary
McNamara is that of "cost effectiveness"
applied to war decisions in the field of war
materials are to depend simply on whether
the cost is justified by the "benefit" obtained.

This grim calculus becomes something
bordering on fantasy when one considers
what would be the cost and "benefits" of ex-
tending the war to China - if that is, the
policies of the present leadership are per-
mitted to continue to their logical conclusion.
Today's \$58.6 billion dollar defense bill could
become in ten years a time (allowing for in-
flation) \$158 billion.

Materially and morally the U.S. is being
absorbed by the Vietnam war. But even if
the U.S. were able to achieve victory in
Vietnam it is clear that Vietnam would not
be by any means the last hand in the game.

The rich countries are getting richer, the
poor countries poorer. Western statesmen
pay lip service to the doctrine that Asia must
be saved from Communism by raising liv-
ing standards rather than by military action,
but their acts belie their words - the
\$58.6 billion dollars devoted by the rich in-
dustrial nations to helping the underdeveloped
countries over the past ten years is less
than the U.S. defense budget for a single
year.

and feudalistic government there will
inevitably be numerous popular movements
of the kind which the U.S. has characterized
in Vietnam as "Communist aggression." As
Senator Fulbright remarked: "Must we be
prepared to fight in all the 81 countries
to which we give so-called aid?"

PEACE-LOVING ALLIES

Whenever there has been a pause in the
American bombing of North Vietnam, the
Hanoi government has approached Wash-
ington with proposals for negotiation. De-
spite Johnson's claim that he is willing to
negotiate "any time, any place", these op-

proaches have a been
response from the U.S. has been
and intensify the attack.

Mr. Donald Keys, an
to the conference of the
Federation for Democracy
recently in West Germany
to the approaches made by Hanoi
the most recent pause in the
year.

A message was sent through Pol's dip-
lomatic circles to the effect that the Govern-
ment of North Vietnam was prepared to
enter into discussions based on the Four
Points put forward by the U.S. in April 1965.
The proposal was significantly different from
earlier ones in that it stated merely that
the Four Points ought to be the basis of ne-
gotiation - not that they must be the basis
which up till then had been the usual for-
mula.

This message got through to Messrs. Rush,
McNamara and McGeorge Bundy in the
early hours of the morning; they were roused
from their beds, and after consultation sent
back the reply that this was not the signal
that the U.S. was looking for.

Mr. Keys' own organization, SANE, the
Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, has
obtained official confirmation that Hanoi's
message had in fact, reached the State De-
partment and Pentagon.

These facts highlight the hypocrisy of the
American position; they also demonstrate
how meaningless is the position of Mr. Wil-
son - who told the press, on his last visit
to Washington, that he was "wished that
Johnson's offer of unconditional negotia-
tion meant what it said."

NEW OFFICE



University of Pennsylvania SDS now has
an office. Jon Goldstein, an active member
of the chapter (U of P SDS has no officers
writes "If you want to, call it a regional
office (we are trying very much to make it
that!)" Chapters in the Philadelphia area
should write.

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